

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05

L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAM-01 COME-00 EB-07 LAB-04 SIL-01 NIC-01

/079 W

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R 031231Z DEC 74

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 571

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 7551

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, ELAB, PO, SP

SUBJECT: SPANISH SOCIALIST ATTITUDES TOWARDS PORTUGUESE PPD

REF LISBON 5179, MADRID A-218

BEGIN SUMMARY: PORTUGUESE PPD IS UNLIKELY TO RECEIVE ANY
SUPPORT FROM PRINCIPAL SPANISH SOCIALIST GROUPS FOR PPD'S
EFFORTS JOIN SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL. ONLY SPANISH
SOCIALIST GROUPING WHICH MIGHT SUPPORT PPD IS DIONISION
RIDRUEJO'S USDE, WHICH REPORTEDLY SENT TWO OBSERVERS INCLUDING
RIDRUEJO TO PPD CONGRESS, BUT USDE IS SMALL GROUPING OF LIBERAL
INTELLECTUALS WHO NOT IN SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL AND WHO ONLY
TWO MONTHS AGO PROCLAIMED THEMSELVES "SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC"

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RECONSTITUTION OF RIDRUEJO'S FORMER LIBERAL ACCION DEMOCRATICA

GROUPING. ONLY SPANISH MEMBER OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL, I.E., PSOE, IS CERTAIN TO SUPPORT SOARES AND PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY POSITION VERSUS PPD IN SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL. TIerno GALVAN GROUP AND REGIONAL SPANISH SOCIALIST GROUPS ALSO SUPPORT SOARES PARTY. BOTH PSOE AND TIerno GALVAN GROUP LIKELY SEND OBSERVERS TO DECEMBER PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS. IRONICALLY, SPANISH OPPOSITION GROUPS WHICH FEEL MOST IDEOLOGICALLY AKIN TO PPD ARE VARIOUS IMPORTANT SPANISH CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC GROUPS. END SUMMARY

1. SPANISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC UNION (USDE), WHICH REPORTEDLY HAD TWO OBSERVERS AT RECENT PORTUGUESE NOV 23-24 LIBON PPD CONGRESS (REFTTEL), INCLUDING DIONISIO RIDRUEJO HIMSELF, IS ONE OF SMALLEST OF VARIOUS SPANISH SOCIALIST PARTIES AND ONE WITH LEAST SOCIALIST CREDENTIALS. USDE, IN FACT, WAS ONLY ESTABLISHED TWO MONTHS AGO AS A NEW SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GROUPING HEADED BY PRESTIGIOUS LIBERAL WRITER AND INTELLECTUAL DIONISIO RIDRUEJO. USDE IS GENERALLY REGARDED IN SPANISH POLITICAL CIRCLES AS MERELY A RECONSTITUTION, UNDER A "SOCIALIST" LABEL, OF RIDRUEJO'S OLD ACCION DEMOCRATICA PARTY, WHICH HAD BEEN IN EXISTENCE FOR SEVERAL YEARS AND WAS USUALLY CONSIDERED A LIBERAL PARTY IN WESTERN EUROPEAN POLITICAL CONTEXT. USDE IS NOT MEMBER OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL AND HAS NO FORMAL INTERNATIONAL TIES.

2. ALTHOUGH APPARENTLY NEW USDE MAY REGARD PORTUGUESE PPD AS A MORE OR LESS FRATERNAL "SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC" PARTY, NO OTHER SOCIALIST GROUP OR PARTIES INSIDE SPAIN DO. VIRTUALLY ALL OTHERS REGARD MARIO SOARES AND HIS PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY AS ONLY LEGITIMATE PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS.

3. ONLY SPANISH SOCIALIST PARTY RECOGNIZED AND AFFILIATED WITH SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL IS TRADITIONAL SPANISH SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (PSOE), WHICH IS DOMINATED BY A GROUP "YOUNG TURKS" INSIDE SPAIN WHO WERE ABLE TO THROW OUT PREVIOUS "OLD GUARD" PSOE EXILE LEADERSHIP DURING PAST TWO YEARS. PSOE MAINTAINS CONTACT WITH MARIO SOARES' PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS AND IN ADDITION CAN BE EXPECTED STRONGLY SUPPORT SOARES' PARTY AS SOLE PORTUGUESE PARTY IN SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL.

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IN VIEW OF LONG BATTLE WITHIN SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL TO WREST CONTROL AND EXCLUSIVE RECOGNITION FROM RIVAL PSOE "OLD GUARD" FACTION, WHICH BATTLE "YOUNG TURK" PSOE FACTION WON ONE YEAR AGO, PSOE IS IN NO MOOD TO RECOGNIZE MULTIPLICITY OF SOCIALIST PARTIES IN SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL FROM A FRATERNAL NEIGHBOR COUNTRY. SAME ATTITUDE HOLDS TRUE FOR PSOE'S TRADE UNION AFFILIATE, I.E. SOCIALIST UGT. PERHAPS INDICATIVE OF PSOE'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS

PORTUGUESE PPD WAS A REMARK MADE A WEEK AGO TO EMB LABATT BY A NATIONAL-LEVEL PSOE/UGT LEADER, WHO CHARACTERIZED PPD AS "THE AMERICANS' INSTRUMENT TO REGAIN POWER IN PORTUGAL". PSOE, AS ONLY SPANISH SOCIALIST PARTY IN SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL, CAN ALSO BE EXPECTED TO SEND OBSERVERS TO PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS IN MID-DEC.

4. NEXT MOST IMPORTANT SPANISH SOCIALIST PARTY, I.E., GROUP LED BY PROFESSOR ENRIQUE TIerno GALVAN, ALSO CAN BE EXPECTED TO SUPPORT MARIO SOARES' PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY AND TO HAVE NO TIES WITH PORTUGUESE PPD. TIerno GALVAN GROUP ONE MONTH AGO CHANGED ITS OFFICIAL NAME FROM INTERIOR SOCIALIST PARTY (PSI) TO POPULAR SOCIALIST PARTY (PSP), PARTIALLY IN AN EFFORT TO CREATE A WIDER BASE FOR THEIR GROUP (TIerno GALVAN GROUP IS LARGELY MADE UP OF INTELLECTUALS, ACADEMICS, AND PROFESSIONALS). TIES OF TIerno GALVAN'S GROUP TO MARIO SOARES'S PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY ARE EVEN SOMEWHAT STRONGER THAN THOSE OF PSOE WITH SOARES, DESPITE FACT TIerno GALVAN'S PARTY IS NOT A MEMBER OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL AND HAS NO FORMAL INTERNATIONAL TIES. HOWEVER, TIerno GALVAN, AND HIS CHIEF DEPUTY, RAUL MORODO, HAVE FOR MANY YEARS MAINTAINED CLOSE TIES OF FRIENDSHIP WITH MARIO SOARES IN PARIS, AND THEY THUS FEEL THAT GIVES THEM PREFERENTIAL ACCESS TO SOARES AND HIS PARTY, AND MEMBERS OF TIerno GALVAN GROUP HAVE FREQUENTLY VISITED PORTUGAL SINCE COUP (SEE REF AIRGRAM). FOR THIS REASON OF PERSONAL FRIENDSHIP ALONE, COMBINED WITH FACT TIerno GALVAN GROUP IS SOMETIMES ACCUSED BY OTHER SPANISH SOCIALIST GROUPS OF NOT REALLY BEING SOCIALIST, IT ALSO UNLIKELY TIerno GALVAN GROUP WOULD GIVE ANY SUPPORT OR RECOGNITION TO PPD. TIerno GALVAN'S GROUP CAN ALSO BE EXPECTED TO SEND OBSERVERS TO PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS, ALTHOUGH THIS COULD GIVE RISE TO POSSIBLE

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CONFLICT BETWEEN RIVAL PSOE OBSERVERS AND TIerno GALVAN OBSERVERS.

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5. OTHER SPANISH SOCIALIST GROUPS, OF WHICH THERE ARE SEVERAL REGIONAL ONES, ALSO APPEAR TO REGARD MARIO SOARES AND PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY AS ONLY LEGITIMATE PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS. THIS INCLUDES MOST IMPORTANT SPANISH REGIONAL GROUPING I.E., CATALAN MSC IN BARCELONA AREA (A GROUP WHICH HAS ALSO DURING PAST MONTH CHANGED ITS NAME TO THAT OF CATALAN SOCIALIST ALLIANCE). LEADING MEMBERS OF THIS CATALAN SOCIALIST GROUP ALSO CLAIM THAT THEIR PORTUGUESE TIES ARE ALL WITH MARIO SOARES AND HIS PARTY.

6. EVEN IN DEMOCRATIC CLANDESTINE SPANISH TRADE UNION
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SPHERE, ALL PORTUGUESE TIES APPEAR TO BE WITH MARIO SOARES AND HIS PARTY. THUS UGT (LABOR AFFILIATE OF PSOE), ALTHOUGH IT VIEWS PORTUGUESE LABOR SCENE PESSIMISTICALLY AND UNDER PREDOMINANT COMMUNIST CONTROL, CLAIMS IT SEEKS TO SUPPORT EXTENT IT CAN EFFORTS OF SOARES AND PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY IN LABOR FIELD. OTHER PRINCIPAL NON-COMMUNIST CLANDESTINE LABOR GROUP IN SPAIN, I.E., CATHOLIC-INSPIRED

USO (WHICH, HOWEVER, ALSO NOW CONSIDERS ITSELF "SOCIALIST")
ALSO, ACCORDING TO USO LEADERS, PLACE THEIR HOPES IN
PORTUGUESE LABOR FIELD EXCLUSIVELY ON MARIO SOARES AND
HIS PARTY, AND WHAT FEW CONTACTS THEY HAVE WITH
PORTUGUESE ARE WITH SOARES' GROUP.

7. SPANISH GROUPS FROM WHICH PPD COULD IDEOLOGICALLY EXPECT
MORE SUPPORT ARE NOT THOSE WHICH OPERATE
UNDER SOCIALIST LABEL, BUT THE IMPORTANT OPPOSITION
CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC GROUPS, SUCH AS LEFT CHRISTIAN
DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF JOAQUIN RUIZ GIMENEZ AND CENTRIST
CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS OF JOSE MARIA GIL ROBLES. IRONI-
CALLY, WHEN PPD LEADER FRANCISCO BALSEMAO MADE A MUCH
PUBLICIZED VISIT TO SPAIN IN MAY OF THIS YEAR
(ADMITTEDLY UNDER DIFFERENT CIRCUMSTANCES THAN EXIST IN
POST-SEPTEMBER PORTUGAL), HE SPENT MOST OF HIS TIME WITH
ABOVE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC GROUPS AND EVEN HAD
SOME CONTACT WITH MEMBERS OF ONE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC
GROUP WHICH IS WITHIN REGIME "ESTABLISHMENT", NAMELY
PERSONS ASSOCIATED WITH CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LIBERLIZING
"ESTABLISHMENT" GROUP WHICH OPERATES UNDER NAME OF
"TACITO" AND WRITES WEEKLY "TACITO" NEWSPAPER COLUMN IN
SPAIN'S LEADING CATHOLIC-ORIENTED NEWSPAPER "YA".

7. COMMENT: PORTUGUESE PPD CAN THUS EXPECT NO SUPPORT
IN ITS EFFORT TO ENTER SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL OR TO
IDENTIFY ITSELF AS "SOCIALIST" FROM PRINCIPAL SPANISH
SOCIALIST GROUPS, WITH POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF RIDRUEJO'S
USDE, WHICH SENT OBSERVERS TO PPD CONGRESS AND WHICH MIGHT
OFFER PPD SOME SUPPORT. HOWEVER, USDE'S RECENT
RECONSTITUTION UNDER A "SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC" LABEL IS
LOOKED AT SOMEWHAT ASKANCE BY OTHERS, WHO STILL CONSIDER
IT A LARGELY LIBERAL, RATHER THAN A SOCIALIST GROUPING.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARTY UNITY, PARTY LINE, POLITICAL PARTIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 03 DEC 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974MADRID07551
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740350-0151
From: MADRID
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741265/aaaacdos.tel
Line Count: 263
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: LISBON 5179, MADRID A-218
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 MAR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <26 MAR 2002 by shawdg>; APPROVED <28 MAY 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SPANISH SOCIALIST ATTITUDES TOWARDS PORTUGUESE PPD
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, ELAB, PO, SP
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005